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NAME OF GROUP	ORIGIN	NUMERICAL STRENGTH
Hui (Hui-hui, Hoi-tse)	1. Arabian and Iranian soldiers and merchants who moved into China from the 7th to 13th centuries and intermarried with the Chinese and aborigines. 2. Chinese children adopted by Hui families. Most of the Hui people in the Central-South are found around Kai-feng, Honan, resulting probably from the Yuan Dynasty military colonization.	350,000
Chuang (Pien-jen, Nung-jen, T'u-jen)	A Thai race who entered Kwangsi from the west out of Hunan and Kweichow, where the Mongol armies conquered the Southwest in the 14th century.	About 6,000,000
Tung	Unknown. Probably a branch of the Chuang.	250,000
Yao (Called White-trouser Yao, red-turban Yao, from their attire; also Plain Yao, Cross-Mountain Yao from their dwelling places; other names from occupational and cultural levels.	They came from the east into Kwangsi province, probably after the immigration of Chuang.	460,000
Miao (Miao-tzu)	The Miao in Honan are the aborigines. Most of those on Hainan Island came from the Chinese mainland during the Ming Dynasty (1366-1644).	480,000
Li (Loi, according to local pronunciation; Ha and Ch'i are two branches of the Li, distinguished from the Li proper.)	Aborigines of Hainan Island.	300,000

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THE SIX NON-HAN ETHNIC GROUPS IN CENTRAL-SOUTH CHINA

DISTRIBUTION	APPEARANCE
Settled among Han Chinese communities — cities and towns. Most are found in Honan, a few in West Hunan. About 2,000 on Hainan Island around Ya Hsien.	In the Hui of the Central-South, the Han Chinese blood overshadows the Turkish and Iranian blood. It is difficult to distinguish the Hui from the Han Chinese except by their different religious practices and customs.. Hui on Hainan Island have prominent noses and other Semitic features.
Most found in West Kwangsi.	Not noticeably different from the Han Chinese.
On the Hunan-Kwangsi border, near Kweichow, usually in mountainous areas over 6,800 feet above sea level.	Those who live on the plains are assimilated into Chinese communities. Those remaining on mountains wear peculiar costumes like the Miao.
Mountainous areas in Kwangsi, and some in Kwangtung and northern Hunan.	Shorter than the average Han Chinese. Most costumes have wide embroidered trimmings; women wear large earrings.
Western Hunan in connection with the Miao in eastern Kweichow (300,000); Northern Kwangsi at Ta-Miao-shan area (100,000); Northwestern Kwangsi around Si-lung (80,000); Hainan Island.	Deep-chested, rosy-cheeked hardy mountain-dwelling people; men dress like Han Chinese peasants; women wear costumes of colors peculiar to their tribes
Hainan Island with concentrations in Wu-chih-shan and Lo-ting, Pao-t'ing, and Pei-sha. The Ch'i live in the most inaccessible areas. The Li live close to the coast, in the south and southwest of the island.	Men and women wear 6-cornered hats while working. The tamed Li resemble the Han Chinese; the wild Li (Sheng Li) preserve their tribal customs; women tatto their faces to mark tribal differences; both men and women have curious coiffures with big knots tied in various shapes, and do not wear many clothes.

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OCCUPATION	LANGUAGE	RELIGION
162 142 198 771 Most are small merchants and handicraftsmen; a small number engaged in agriculture; some are big merchants and landlords.	Chinese, supplemented by Arabian and Iranian phrases of a religious nature.	Islam (Ch'ing-chen chiao)
Agriculture, primarily wet-rice paddy culture.	They have their own dialect, but no written language. Most can speak Cantonese. A written Chuang language is being created for them under Communist sponsorship.	Ancestral cult; magicians and the belief in transformation of animals; dull sorcery.
Agriculture, in mountainous areas.	Not clear.	Not clear.
Agriculture on mountain slopes; wood-chopping, charcoal-making, bamboo basketry are sidelines.	They have their own dialect, but not written language.	Not clear.
Agriculture (slash and burn); hunting.	Dialects; no written language; using Chinese when necessary.	Some Chinese gods have been taken into their temples.
Agriculture Hunting Fishing	Li dialect, written language unknown	No organized religion; but superstitious beliefs; magic, sorcery, chicken divination are common; shrines where offerings may be made to please various spirits who preside over the locality; also cattle cult or cattle sacrifice.

[facing p. 71; part C]

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RELIGION

I. INTRODUCTION

Religious organization and activity in China has always been strictly limited by what the state felt to be desirable. Public and private morality were not based on religion but on a combination of philosophic principles (Confucianism) and secular mores. (On this principle, Confucianism is treated in the chapters on Social Values and Patterns of Living). Governmental authority judged whether a certain religion was conducive to morality and the welfare of the state and then allowed the religion and its adherents a carefully defined range and sphere of activity. Anything beyond that range was regarded as subversive of public welfare and morality, and the religion was curbed or suppressed. As a consequence China has not had, until very recently, any "churches," that is well-organized, centrally disciplined organizations of believers capable of decisively influencing public morality or state policy.

With the slow collapse of the traditional order the effectiveness of government control of religion diminished. The Western powers, as they gained more and more rights and concessions from a weakening China, demanded and got "rights" of religious and missionary activity which no strong Chinese government would ever have granted. But the rise of nationalist sentiment brought with it hatred of foreigners and of their religions -- hatred that exploded

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repeatedly in anti-foreign, anti-Christian riots.[1] 771

Meanwhile another trend was visible. Religious groups and a number of outstanding political leaders began to feel that China could not become truly modern and Western unless it was reformed from the moral base upward; religion accounted for the power and success of Western nations. Would not a religion --- a religionized Confucianism, a revitalized Buddhism, or even Christianity bring about that basic transformation that China clearly needed?

This view was rejected by two overlapping groups which had decisive power in state and society after 1925. The first were the intellectual leaders, increasingly committed to some form of materialistic philosophy -- a philosophy which held all religion to be parasitic, corrosive and "non-progressive."[2] The second group was the Kuomintang elite, many of whom derived their anti-religious views from the intellectual leadership. For others in the Kuomintang elite the older Confucian view of religions, reinforced by nationalist feeling, reasserted itself; consciously or unconsciously they reverted to the view that no strong self-respecting government should

1. Tatsuro and Sumiko Yamamoto, "The Anti-Christian Movement in China," Far Eastern Quarterly, Feb. 1953, pp. 133-47.

2. O. Brière, "Les courants philosophiques en Chine depuis 50 ans," Bulletin de l'Université de l'Aurore, No. 40, 1947, pp. 561-654.

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tolerate independent religious bodies that challenged government control of all aspects of public and private life.

Religions in the twentieth century were caught in this crossfire of negative sentiment and attack. To modernize and to become militant was to provoke state suppression, and the effort of religious leaders to stem the rising tide of intellectual materialism failed.[3] In the countryside the old folk religions -- varieties of Buddhism and Taoism -- continued to wither away. Christianity made some advances, but it was always tainted by its foreignness, by the fact that its missionaries came with the backing of the Western powers which held China in thrall.

Communist policy towards religion is in many ways the culmination of the trends we have described. It reflects the triumph of materialist philosophy and the imposition of materialism as the intellectual orthodoxy. It is highly nationalistic and anti-foreign and thus insists that all religious organizations cease receiving support from abroad and assert their distinctive Chinese character. It carries forward, through the most effective apparatus of control and coercion that China has seen, the confiscation of church property and the secularization of the clergy. The Communist Constitution provides that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of religious belief."[4] This means, in practice, that

3. O. Brière, op. cit., passim.
4. Article 88, Ch. III.

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000 describe all things within the reach of man's thought and experience in terms of purpose.

816 A peculiar fact in the history of Chinese thought is the absurdly small place in it occupied by the scientific ideal. It is peculiar because the Chinese have produced great thinkers, and great scientific inventions as well, yet these inventions have almost never been developed as in western civilization. Recently Chinese scholars, like Hu Shih, have endeavored to find scientific systems in ancient Chinese philosophies, but Hu has been criticized by Liang Ch'i Ch'ao for reading into passages what he wished to discover. Wahat the Chinese classics really mean is not a question that can be discussed fruitfully by any except Chinese, but it seems clear that in spite of the beginnings of science ascribed to the disciples of Mo Ti and others, the trend of Chinese thought since Confucius, and indeed before him, has been to be interested in the problems of ethics and politics, and to interpret all things in terms of purpose rather than of mechanism.

812 It is true that in China there is found the entire range of magic, the mother 7971 of science. One western work on the Feng Shui, or " Wind-Water Doctrines " calls them the Chinese ideas of nature. These magical ideas and practices have often been confused with religion, to which they are actually antipathetic. Yet even in their magic the Chinese have sought a purpose, and in the chapter Hung Fan of the Shu Ching, " It is asserted that climatic change is directly related to the moral conduct of the people. " *(Encyl. Sin.*, Astrology) There have always been disciples of Confucius who have stood against the practice of magic, though sometimes their own principles have been merely more refined and sceptical rather than more truly religious, and on the whole Confucianism has erred on the side of agnosticism rather than superstition. But the Confucian officials have made no question about the existence of the ghosts and nature spirits with whom they entered into official relations on the part of the people they represented, and since this is true of the leaders of Chinese thought, it is natural that the common people should always have found personality behind the forces of nature, the unities of society and the abstractions of thought.

1 [Errata: should be what. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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As far as a foreigner may judge, the Chinese have a much stronger ethical feeling than religious. Chinese classical literature is remarkable for its freedom from the primitive obscenities which are found even in the Bible and a man who really tries to live up to the Confucian ideal is a very moral individual, while today it is very common for educated Chinese to have regular periods for self examination and ethical adjustment. But in the temples the Chinese onlookers are singularly lacking in what westerners consider the spirit of reverence, ridicule is cast upon those who devote themselves to a religious life, and I have frequently seen mockery and burlesque of the practices of devotion, carried on before the very altars of the gods. However, irreverence and doubt in the day time may very well go hand in hand with fear and belief at night, and many who profess themselves free from " superstition ", in time of danger would doubtless rush to " embrace the Buddha's foot. " There are few Chinese who in emergencies would not accept the existence and seek help from personal forces behind the various phenomena with which they are confronted. And there are, of course, sincerely devoted men, such as may be seen at the great Buddhist pilgrimages.

The ideas associated with personality and purpose are gathered together by introspection and the observation of the behaviour of other men. It is inevitable then that in measuring the universe in terms of purpose, man himself, as Protagoras said, should be the measure, and it is not reasonable to speak of religions as anthropomorphic as if that were a crime, for it is impossible that they should be otherwise. It seems also evident that man's reactions toward phenomena were based on mechanistic or purposive principles long before those principles themselves became distinct in the mind of anyone, and it is not necessary to suppose that primitive man, or modern man for that matter, had in his mind a complete cosmological system in order to see that his behaviour can be explained by certain principles of which he himself may never have been conscious. We may, therefore, attempt to sketch some of the ideas which consciously or unconsciously have influenced and guided the development of Chinese religious thought and practice, as they have guided in a greater or lesser degree the religious development of all peoples.

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The fundamental principle is analogy. In the first place, if the forces of nature are controlled by spirits, these personalities must obviously possess enough human qualities to make the use of the term intelligible. De Groot is right, therefore, in beginning his great work on Chinese religion with the study of the way in which the dead are worshipped, for not only is this worship at the heart of Chinese religion, but the worship of gods and canonized heroes is patterned after it, and the ideas behind the other cults are similar to those underlying the worship of the dead.

A familiar but none the less surprising fact in the behaviour of purposive individuals is that at times they cease to behave in a purposive way. Sleep, trance and death have characteristics in common which naturally link them together. It has generally seemed reasonable to suppose that the awakening of a man was caused by the addition of something which was absent during his slumbers. Yet during our sleep we dream, and in our dreams move in a world which much resembles that of our waking moments and is none the less real while we are in it. An obvious and simple explanation is that while asleep our spirit enters or comes into communication with another world, or moves more freely about this, as the case may be.

But the purposive behaviour of any individual eventually ceases altogether, and it would appear that death is a permanent departure of the spirit from the body, wandering so far away that it cannot return. When a man is sleeping we call to wake him, and his return to consciousness shows that his journey cannot have been long. A fainting fit or a trance is more serious, since calling does not have same immediate effect. So in such cases the Chinese sometimes cry the person's name from the house top or beat a gong to bring him back. When death occurred, the ancient Chinese custom was not only to call for long periods, to wail and make as much noise as possible, but even to send men along the roads summoning the deceased back to his home. The clothes of the dead man also played a prominent part in the ceremonies, as they would attract his attention. " Calling back the soul bears the character of a prayer ", says the Li Ki, Chapter 12. The death howl and the great care taken of corpses in China are due to the same rea-

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soning. (DE GROOT, has treated the subject very fully in his *Religious System of China*, Book I, Part. 2).

As death is merely the departure of the spirit to another world, it is necessary, at least for most of us, to conceive what this other world is like. The easiest and simplest way, familiar to all peoples, is to think of it as a country similar in its main outlines to our present universe, in all but one respect. Therefore, the Chinese spirit world has its officials, its yamens, its police, judges and a complete social system in which a newly arrived spirit would have no difficulty in finding his bearings. But the chief difference between the two worlds is of the greatest importance. The future world is ethical, a place where virtue is rewarded and vice punished, where hells with grotesque physical punishments wait for the sinner, and heavens of rather earthly bliss for the good. Every Hsien city in China has or ought to have its city-god temple, containing the judge of the dead and his officials, as well as vivid representations of the sufferings in store for the wicked. (GILES, in *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, has translated many tales which give the details of Chinese ideas about the future world. In the same volume is a Taoist pamphlet, the Yu Li Ch'ao Chuan, describing the ten hells. Doré, however, is the fullest authority on the subject.)

But the virtuous man on entering the next world receives not only happiness but power proportionate to his virtue while on earth. And as it is our duty to revere age and virtue in living men, it is much more our duty to reverence them in those whose authority and power have been enormoulsy increased by their entrance into the spirit world. For to the Chinese the two worlds are not more distant from each other than are the worlds of sleep and awakening, so that power in the one means power also in the other.

This transference of power from one world to the other can work both ways. Not only do spirits, ghosts, devils and gods exert influence on us, but living men may by their actions affect them. The worst evil that can befall a man is to have no male descendants to look after his welfare in the after world by sacrificing food, paper money and other things, and conversely " hungry ghosts " torment the living.

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Moreover, since the social and political systems of both worlds are much the same, the officials of this world during their term of office have certain powers in the next. The emperor in particular might canonize virtuous dead, decree that worship be paid them and even establish them as gods. He also rewarded and promoted those gods who had notably benefited the people. Since the republic the national legislature has exercised the same prerogative in at least one instance, that of Yo Fei, who has been made something very like a god of war and coupled with Kuan Ti. The officials report not only to their worldly, but to their ghostly superiors, and they have power to punish recalcitrant deities who are below them in rank.

For instance, in time of drought the official of a Fu district may officially try and condemn the god of a Hsien district included in the Fu, for not sending the needed rain, and as a punishment the god may be carried out into the hot sun or publicly beaten in the person of his image.

The religious duties of officials would make an interesting subject in itself. Formerly the emperor sacrificed to heaven and earth, while the provincial officials sacrificed to the local deities, such as the gods of mountains and streams.

Just as the emperor represented the nation and performed certain duties for it and in its name, so did the officials represent the constituencies under them. And as the emperor took the blame for any national calamity upon himself, so the officials ascribed any general disaster within their jurisdiction to their own lack of virtue. This responsibility was often taken in great seriousness. The officials regularly sacrificed in the local temples, reporting current events to the appropriate god. I have not come across any instance, however, of an official sacrificing as an official in a definitely Buddhist or Taoist temple, though it would be rash to say it has never been done. The temples in which they do worship will be considered later. In times of trouble, the official was responsible for securing spiritual as well as material help. He was responsible for calling fasts, processions and special sacrifices when the occasion demanded, and he must head the list of contributors if funds were need for the repair of temples. The journey to the top of the Great Dragon

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Mountain under the terrible summer sun, described later in this paper, would be a very serious and difficult feat for an elderly man, and another conscientious official of Anking worried himself to death because he could not prevent a plague of locusts. There seem to have been a good many officials appointed under the old examination system who were a credit to their country and their profession. Many of them after death, or even before, have received sacrifices as a reward for their former service and devotion, but a living official would not receive worship until he had been transfered to another position.

And not only do the virtues displayed in this life increase the power of the individual in the next, but the manner of death is of great importance. As death is naturally dreaded, a voluntary surrender of life, especially when in the interest of the people or in defense of some moral principle, shows the possession of a great spirit and insures power in the spirit world. Such suicides nearly always receive wor ship, even from those to whom they had lately been opposed politically. For instance, about 1360 the Mongols were driven from Anking by the Chinese armies, and the Mongol governor, his officials, wife and children committed suicide. The first Ming emperor, Hung Wu, not only canonized him but erected a temple in his honor. It does not seem as if this were propitiatory, for victors have frequently violated the graves of their enemies (De Groot gives instances of revenge by punishing corpses, *Rel. Sys. of China*, vol. I, p. 343 ff.).

Of the processes of nature that which most suggests a transference to the spirit world is burning. Fire appears to be thinner and more volatile than air, and the object burned seems to disappear. It is natural then to assume that men may gratify the wants of the dead or send prayers to a god by burning appropriate objects, for fire translates things to the spirit world. Possibly well educated men regard the process as symbolic, but the majority take it literally. However, the Chinese do not believe that everything which may be consumed by fire thereby becomes spiritual, which might be consistent but would be rather inconvenient.

Paper money, servants, horses, houses and such things are offered to dead men but not to gods, for whom petitions are written upon red or yellow

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paper and burned before the altar or in the courtyard of the temple, the flames carrying the prayer direct to the god addressed. The written word has itself a spiritual value. Every Chinese city has public fireplaces and men are employed to collect waste printed matter and burn it, though this may be only an act of reverence. Wether the idea of transference to the spirit world applies to incense is doubtful. The Chinese make few burnt offerings of animals. There are some instances, as in the sacrifices at the Temple of Heaven, but those things offered to Earth are not burnt. The Li Chi mentions both burnt and unburnt offerings, and the sacrifice may or may not be bloody.

There is no definite line between the worship or reverence paid to ancestors, to the virtuous and distinguished dead, and to gods, for they grade into one another so that any division is arbitrary. Men dead are pleased much as men living, and gods are very like men in their tastes. An instance of this may be seen at the annual ceremony of sending the Kitchen-God to heaven, which takes place in every home on the 23rd of the 12th month. Following the other rites, a plate of chopped straw and beans is taken into the open and its contents thrown upon the roof so that the god's horse will have something to eat on its long journey.

Some gods, Shang Ti for example, maintain a supernatural origin, but most of the seats on the Chinese Olympus are filled by deified heroes. The majority of these heroes are relatively recent historical characters, like Kuan Ti, a general of the 3rd century A. D., the facts of whose life are well known. A few claim ancient origin, like the mythological emperors Huang Ti and Shen Nung and the Taoist gods of the five mountains, who were generals at the time of the founding of the Chou Dynasty, some are said to have been men, like the City-God, but their status is difficult to determine, while others died as recently as the Sung Dynasty. It generally takes some hundreds of years for a man to attain a pure godhead, even though he may be worshipped immediately after his decease.

Many old gods no longer have worshippers and their places are filled by upstarts. Cults arise and die away, only remembered as their names occur in literature and history. Mountains and rivers survive, but the names of

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their deities change and are forgotten. Temples decay, cities are ruined, tombs desecrated and the names of states vanish or linger on in villages and literary titles. So also the fate of the gods changes; they flourish and are abandoned by their worshippers. If they represent some permanent force of nature they are revived with different names. Even a god may not control his destiny.

Polytheism is the natural result of an attempt to personify the phenomena of nature. A mountain is not a river and if both are to have spirits connected with them, it is much more consistent to have two spirits than to have one. Sometimes the forces appear actually antagonistic, as fire and water. Similarly, one city cannot be identified with another, and the shoemakers would prefer a different patron from the barbers. Shang Ti may be inclusive in the sense that heaven covers all below, but he is not and can hardly be exclusive, in the sense that there is no other god. The same is true of the combination Heaven-Earth, whether that is monotheistic, according to Legge, or dualistic, as De Groot thinks. An attempt to describe nature in terms of purpose may consistently end in a multitude of gods, or at most in henotheism. It is unlikely, to put the matter mildly, that any Chinese, no matter how strong his feeling for Shang Ti,[1] ever denied the existence of lesser gods — except of course pure materialists or the followers of some foreign religion like Christianity or Islam. That is, the religion of the Chinese people was never monotheistic. The emperor worshipped Shang Ti, but the people worshipped and propitiated the multitude of forces, variant, opposed, beneficent or harmful, which confront man in his daily life, and these forces appear, not as one, but as many personalities.

Two factors determine the popularity of a nature god, the need for what he gives, and the uncertainty of his giving it. Men need air, but there is no god of air, because it can always be obtained without supernatural aid. It is not so with rain, and the cult of the rain god is universal. The popularity of other gods is not always so easy to explain, for instance, the God of War, who is universally worshipped by a peace loving people, possibly because he is the hero of the most popular Chinese novel, "The Three Kingdoms"

1 [Errata: Should be Shang. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 — Analyst]

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776 these gods may become angry because of neglect or a lack of virtue among the people and officials, their general attitude is beneficent.

These gods may be divided into six classes.

1. The gods of localities, such as the T'u Ti, or Earth Gods.
2. Gods of natural forces, such as fire and rain.
3. Gods of artificial processes, like weaving and carpentry.
4. Deified heroes.
5. Gods of political and social units, like the Fu and Hsien " Wall and Moat " Gods.
6. Gods who represent general ideas, such as war, literature and happiness.

776 These classes are not mutually exclusive, so that a famous general may 779 be the god of war or a great writer the god of literature. And it may be said that when a man has become conspicuous for certain abilities or virtues during his life, he is apt to be worshipped as the god of those qualities in the abstract after his death. As was said before, a large majority in the Chinese pantheon were once human individuals. The most frequent petition seems to be for offspring. In general, any unit, social, political and natural, has a god as the symbol of the uniting force. They are often regarded as the ancestors of their followers, as Lo Tsu is the ancestor of the barbers, (GAMBLE, *Peking Social Survey*, p. 434), and they are the source of the peculiar blessings and arts of which they are the personification.

771 The introduction to Section 9 of the Huailing Hsien Chih,[1] on temples, 776 gives a good idea of the attitude of educated Chinese toward religion.

" Concerning sacrifices.

" It is impossible to explain why people say that there are gods and devils, but we know that virtuous kings established sacrifices. Those who have given good laws to the people ought to have sacrifices offered to them. Those who have loved their country all their lives should be worshipped. So also those who have prevented danger and trouble, whether from nature or from men. These things are unchangeable forever. (*Li Ki*, Bk. 20, Sect. 9).

" It is necessary that a city should have a governor; the men who fill

[1] [Errata: should be Chih. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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the office change, but the office remains. In the same way we speak of the gods of the wind, clouds, thunder and rain, moutains, rivers and cities. We do not know their names, and they are not all one god, but we have certain days on which to make sacrifices to them. 771 776

" Certain people at certain times worship a certain god, and make that god famous, but if the worshippers and the sacrifices are few, the name of that god becomes less. Chu Hsu could only show himself once, in a vision, during the time of the Eastern Han, when he was angry with Wang, Feng and Wu of the Six Dynasties, but the deeds of T'ien Hou are not limited to the world of the dead, and the superiority of Kuan Kung is like that of a great official. From this we know that even the gods themselves cannot control their fortunes, so that some have a great number of worshippers, while others have but few. Yet although these ceremonies seem foolish to men of education, they control the minds of the many. They are in accord with the principles of religion and can help the laws of the government. Therefore we have gathered here the temples to those gods that are mentioned in the calendar of sacrifices, as well as others commonly worshipped by the people. "

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for a time following the establishment of the republic in 1911, but it was resumed in 1913, and confirmed the next year in a mandate by Yuen Shih K'ai, who was president at the time (Giles and *the Encyl. Sin.)*.

Foreign observers have always differed as to whether the sacrifices to Confucius, to ancestors, and to great men generally are really religious, so it may be worth while noticing two instances where competent Chinese authorities have given their opinion. In 1700, the Jesuits requested the emperor K'ang Hsi to state what the worship of ancestors and of Confucius meant to the Chinese, and he decided that it was not religious *(Encyl. Sin.*, Rites Controversy). Again, in 1914, Yuan Shih K'ai declared, against the Confucian revivalists, that the ancient rite of worshipping Confucius had nothing to do with religion *(Ibid.* Confucius).

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What they meant probably was that the Chinese did not regard their ancestors and Confucius as gods, but although this is likely true, the worship or reverence paid to men fades so gradually into that offered to undoubted gods, that it is impossible to draw a clear line between them. Monotheism creates an enormous chasm between the Almighty and humanity, which cannot be found in Chinese religious conceptions, where the ascent to divinity is relatively easy. The sacrifices and the ritual are so similar that while both extremes may be clear, in many cases it would be impossible for the worshipper himself to say whether what he was doing was a religious or merely a reverential act. Opinion will continue to differ about instances, but I feel justified in treating ancestor worship and the Confucian sacrifices as religious observances because the same rite is used as in the worship of unquestioned gods like Shang Ti.

On the whole, the humanity of Confucius and his followers has been carefully guarded. Parker *(Studies in Chinese Religion*, p. 221), says that in 500 the Wei dynasty of Tartars ruling at that time in North China prohibited barren women from praying to Confucius for children, and doubtless many similar instances could be found. The attempt of the Manchus in the closing days of their rule to make the sage a god was a sop to an increasingly hostile public opinion, and never was effective. Moreover, there never

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812 has been a Confucian priesthood, images are infrequent, and divination is
769 never practiced in Confucian temples (*Encyl. Sin.*, Confucius).
771 Under the republic there has been a movement among the literati to make Confucianism definitely religious, or to maintain that it always has been so, and it was against this movement that Yuan Shih K'ai's mandate was directed. There is a society called the K'ung Chiao Huei, which holds services in the temples on the birthday of Confucius. This is separate from the state worship, though in Anking nearly all the officials belong to the Huei. The movement does not seem to be a popular one, and is confined to a section of the literati. A handful of people attended the last birthday services in Anking. I was present, representing Bishop Huntington, of Anking, who had been invited by the society, and I took part in the observances, after stating clearly that I did not consider Confucius a god. This would seem to show that even this society considers what it does a national and patriotic rite, rather than a religious one, but as I said, it is difficult to draw a line. It is strange that Confucius is not the god of literature, but that place is filled by Wen Ch'ang.

346 The Wen Miao, usually called by foreigners Confucian temples (K'ung Tzi Miao), are also known as P'an Kung, because of the ponds which are always found in the first court, and as Hsioh Kung, or temples of the scholars. They consist of three courts, with buildings between, running in a north and south direction. All the walls are painted red. The main hall is behind a terrace above the second court. The entrance to the first court, which would be the south gate, was not built until a man of the district had achieved the rank of Chuan Yuen. This was the title given to the first place in the national triennial examinations in Peking, and so was the highest honor a scholar could obtain. As in most pretentious Chinese buildings in the old style, a large " Spirit Wall " was placed opposite the entrance. Though these walls are found in most places, ancestral temples in the country do not seem to have them, and they are not obligatory anywhere. Anking has both Fu and Hsien Hsioh Kung, but the latter is almost in ruin, and it is the former that I will describe.

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INDIVIDUAL CULTS

The way in which we have defined the Three Religions leaves a large number of gods and their cults unaccounted for, and raises the question which puzzles foreigners studying Chinese religion for the first time, as to what religion the Chinese belong. Such a query may be clarified by considering like instances in European religions. To what religion did a Greek or a Roman belong?

There are many similarities between the religions of the Hellenes, Romans and Chinese. Possibly some obscure points in the former, due to the paucity of material, might be explained by the latter, for the Orient has enormously vaster sources for the study of religion, and its cults are still flourishing. In these three civilizations, the prominence of ancestors, the importance of the clan, the multitude of gods, the introduction of foreign cults, the burial customs, the trade dieties, the local earth and house divinities, the sacrifices and the general philosophy of religion are reproduced, often with striking likeness of detail. Such customs as the placing of money in the mouth of the dead, the carrying of images in procession to bless the fields, and the worship of the Lares and Penates, make the question of origins a fascinating one, though I do not believe much profit would be gained by a discussion of it.

The religion of the Chinese, like that of the later Romans, is a merging of many cults. A Chinese may have a favorite divinity, but he does not deny the existence and power of other gods, nor mind using them as occasion demands. Even the Buddhist and Taoist monks will hold services in each

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other's temples, and a Confucian official may call in both to say masses for his dead. Such a situation calls for the consideration of the various cults separately, rather than an attempt to treat them as component parts of a well organized whole. The indigenous religions of the Chinese are not like Muhammedanism and Christianity, and cannot be studied as if they were articulated systems.

The Chinese have never enjoyed the isolation with which they have often been credited. Yule has given the records of the intercourse between China and Europe before modern times, and Bretschneider has also studied the question. In the thirty-seven years from 1270 to 1307 alone, fourteen embassies from the Mongols to various countries in Europe are known, the last of which was received by Edward II of England (CLENNELL, p. 265.) The stories of the Buddhist pilgrims to India are well known, and the discoveries made by Stein, Pelliot and others in the buried cities of the Taklamahan and Gobi deserts. As a matter of fact, there have been few periods in Chinese history when ideas from abroad were not filtering into the Middle Kingdom.

There is not much doubt that most of these exterior influences came from the north or northwest, and I do not think there is evidence for relatively important results in China from intercourse with the Malay, Mon-Khmer, Burmese and other races to the south. Buddhist influence came by both roads, and there was some commerce with the Straits, Ceylon and the Arabs. But every Chinese dynasty has had to fight against the hordes of the desert, as the Great Wall bears witness, and the defense was not always successful, for time and again the inhabitants of Mongolia and Manchuria have set up their dynasties within the empire. Ch'in, which triumphed under the First Emperor, was a semi-barbarian state, and the Toba Tartars, the Kitans, Hsi Hsia, the Golden Tartars, the Mongols and the Manchus show the power of the north. The men of Ankor, Burma and Java never attempted such feats, and the few sporadic efforts of the Japanese upon Corea were repulsed. It is from the north and northwest that foreign pressure has come upon China, until the last century.

And with the armies and merchants there must have come ideas, reli-

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gions and cults. In the disorder that followed the Hans and during the T'ang dynasty (618-907), many foreign influences drifted into China. It was the period of the Buddhist pilgrims, of the coming of the Nestorians and the Muhammedans, a time of great mingling of faiths, whose history does not seem to have adequately studied by Europeans. The Sung and Yuen dynasties which followed also saw great developments in religion, such as the metamorphosis of Kuanyin and the vicisitudes of Taoism. Many of the most characteristic features of Chinese religion began during these centuries. For instance, the burning of paper money and imitation valuables instead of burying real wealth in the graves began shortly before the T'angs (DE GROOT, Bk. I, p. 712). Under the Sungs the dead were burned, a most striking change from ancient custom (YULE, MARCO POLO, Index, *Cremation*).

But what interests us most at present was the growth of certain cults, not new, but largely made over and developed, which have had great influence upon Chinese religion ever since. In this last section, then, I will give some documents, mostly taken from the Huai Ling Hsien Chih, or from inscriptions and temple histories, concerning a few of these cults. I believe that they may show foreign influence and that the records of the T'angs and Sungs might shed much light upon them, and upon the history of Chinese religion generally.

The gods of these cults often receive recognition from the state, on the old principle, already mentioned, that local officials should worship local gods, and on recommendation by the local authorities these gods are rewarded by the central government, or punished if they do not produce desired results. Chavannes (*le T'ai Chan*, p. 385), says that the T'ang emperors were the first to give princely titles to these gods. The temples naturally record favorable instances, but they are not the only cases of official notice. A year or so ago, at Nanling Hsien during a drought, a god was publicly tried by the magistrate for neglect of duty, condemned, left in the hot sun to see how he liked it himself, and finally, after enduring every kind of insult, was broken in pieces. Many similar instances will occur to students of religion. No Chinese would dream of doing such a thing to the tablet of Confucius, or to

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CONCLUSION

991 The gods, temples and cults discussed in this paper show the religion of the city, and on the whole, of the more intelligent classes. The religion of the country folk is probably much what it was thousands of years ago, the worship of ghosts and devils (Kuei), of ancestors, and of local tutelary gods. In the main, it is animism, pure and simple. I do not think that either the religion or the social structure of Chinese villages in the real country has ever been adequately investigated, but it must wait for Chinese scholars, since no foreigner could approach the subject with any chance of success.

995 I have not attempted to discuss what De Groot calls the sects, because they have no temples. These sects combine elements of different cults with revelations, visions, fasting, the approaching advent of some god like Maitreya, speaking with tongues, and other familiar phenomena. Sometimes they are secret societies, with a political tinge, and come into conflict with the authorities.

994 However, there has been one interesting attempt at conscious syncretism, with which I will close my paper. It was the effort of a Buddhist monk, K'i Sung, who lived during the reign of Sung Hwang Yu (1049-1053), to combine in one cult the worship of Confucius, Buddha and Laotzi. The resultant faith, its popularity and eventual suppression by the authorities, are des-

[p. 131] [p. 130 is blank]

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Metal Workers and Innkeepers. Li Lao Chun, or Lao Tzi.

李老君

Actors. Three gods named T'ien, Tu and Ko.

田竇　郭

PROVINCIAL GILDS.

Fu kien. T'ien Hou.

福建　天后

Liang Kuang. Kuan Ti.

兩　廣　關帝

Hu peh. Kuan Ti.

湖北　關帝

Che kiang. Wen Ch'ang and Kuan Ti.

浙江　文昌　關帝

Hu nan. The mountain Heng Shan, one of the five Taoist peaks.

湖南　衡山

Kiang si. Hsu Chen Chun.

江西許眞君

An hui, not in Anking, of course. Wan Kung.

安徽　皖公

This list does not pretend to be exhaustive. For various reasons I could not find out the patron saints of several provincial gilds.